

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2258

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN

SUBJ: DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION COMMITTEE: TACTICAL SITUATION

REF: STATE 90405

1. SUMMARY: TACTICAL SITUATION IN COMMITTEE CHARACTERIZED BY DISSENSION AND ABSENCE OF LEADERSHIP WITHIN NON- ALIGNED AND PRESSURES FOR MOVEMENT AND COMPROMISE WITHIN SIX. IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF CONCLUDING THIS EXERCISE THIS YEAR, WE BELIEVE WE MUST BE IN POSITION TO MAKE PROPOSALS WHICH INDICATE SOME WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN HAND OF MODERATES IN NON- ALIGNED GROUP AND RETAIN UNITY OF SIX. END SUMMARY.

2. ALTHOUGH NON- ALIGNED GROUP IS SERIOUSLY DIVIDED AND LACKS CLEAR LEADERSHIP, MANY DELS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACTIVISTS IN THE PAST ARE THIS YEAR PLAYING LOW- KEY AND EVEN CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. GUYANAN REP (SANDERS) HAS SHOWN GREAT WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE AND HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO PUT FORWARD COMPROMISE PROPOSALS OF HIS OWN. CYPRIOT (MOUSHOUTAS) LACKS WIT TO PROPOSE USEFUL TEXTS BUT HAS SHOWN CONSIDERABLE WILLINGNESS TO APPROACH NEW PROPOSALS
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WITH OPEN MIND. SPAIN HAS BEEN SLIGHTLY MORE OPEN-MINDED THAN IN PAST. ECUADOR HAS PLAYED NO ROLE SO FAR THIS YEAR. MEXICAN REP (VALLARTA) HAS BEEN ERRATIC AND DIFFICULT. ARAB DELS DO NOT RPT NOT APPEAR TO BE UNITED BEHIND SYRIAN REP (ALLAF), WHO IS VERY ACTIVE AND VERY DIFFICULT. SUDAN PUBLICLY AND EGYPT PRIVATELY HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY NOT INCLINED TO BACK HIS EXTREMIST DEMANDS IN THE CRUNCH.

3. THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT CORE OF 13 POWER- NON- ALIGNED GROUP WHICH HAS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO BE FLEXIBLE (CYPRUS, GHANA, GUYANA, COLOMBIA, URUGUAY). UNFORTUNATELY, WITH EXCEPTION GUYANA, THEY LACK THE COMBINATION OF WIT AND WILL REQUIRED TO INITIATE ANYTHING. THE DISPUTE OVER THE CHAIRMANSHIP WAS CASE IN POINT, IN THAT THESE FIVE REPS REPEATEDLY APPROACHED WEST AND INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO FIND A WAY OUT IF WE COULD ONLY SUGGEST ONE. WITH HELP OF HINTS FROM US, THEY STOOD UP AGAINST SYRIAN- LED EXTREMIST WING, FORCED SYRIA TO WITHDRAW CANDIDACY FOR CHAIRMANSHIP, AND EVENTUALLY PUSHED YUGOSLAV TO ACCEPT CHAIRMANSHIP IN SPITE OF UNHAPPINESS OF SOVIET DEL. WHILE WE NOT SUGGESTING THIS MODEL WILL SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS, WE BELIEVE IT IS INDICATIVE OF MOST EFFECTIVE APPROACH IN CURRENT SITUATION-- I. E., REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY UNPALATABLE PROPOSALS, SUGGEST APPROACH MODERATES CAN BUY, AND THEN LET MODERATES SEE WHAT THEY CAN ACCOMPLISH WITHIN GROUP.

4. FURTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR SUGGESTING VALUE OF THIS APPROACH IS DESIRE OF AUSTRALIAN, CANADIAN, ITALIAN, AND JAPANESE DELS (IN THAT ORDER) TO PROJECT MORE FLEXIBLE IMAGE. ALL OF THESE DELS ARE ANXIOUS TO PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS WHICH CONSTITUTE A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARD COMPROMISE. IF WE CONTINUE TO FRUSTRATE THESE WISHES TOTALLY (AND THEY ARE NOT ONLY WISHES OF REPS HERE BUT ARE BASED ON PRESSURES FROM CAPITALS) WE WILL SERIOUSLY ENDANGER COHESIVE NATURE OF 6- POWER GROUP, WHICH HAS BEEN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO DATE AND APPEARANCE OF WHICH WILL BE INCREASINGLY ESSENTIAL TO DISCOURAGE ANY TEMPTATION NON- ALIGNED MAY DEVELOP TO VOTE THROUGH UNACCEPTABLE TEXT HERE OR IN UNGA.

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5. RE DEPARTMENT' S CONCLUSION THAT SOVIET AND SUDANESE PROPOSALS INDICATE OTHERS NOT MAKING SERIOUS EFFORT MEET US HALFWAY, DELEGATION BELIEVES THIS IS MISREADING OF THESE TWO ISOLATED MATTERS. BOTH OF THESE PROPOSALS RESULT FROM EXTRANEIOUS PRESSURES AND WILL, WE THINK, BE RELATIVELY EASY TO RESOLVE. ON SOVIET NON- USE OF FORCE

PROPOSALS, KOLESNIK CLEARLY HELD OFF IN LIGHT OF OUR INITIAL NEGATIVE RESPONSE, TABLED PROPOSAL ONLY AFTER RECEIVING FIRM INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW, AND THEN CLEARLY DE- EMPHASIZED PROPOSAL (TO EXTENT THAT SOME DELS IN CONTACT GROUP THANKED SOVS FOR WITHDRAWING PROPOSAL, WITH SOVS NOT BOTHERING TO CORRECT THE MIS- IMPRESSION). IN SHORT, THIS SEEMS CLEARLY TO BE PRO- FORMA EFFORT BY SOVIET DEL TO CALL ATTENTION TO WHAT SOMEONE IN MOSCOW REGARDS AS AMAJOR SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE. SUDANESE PROPOSAL WAS, WE UNDERSTAND, DECIDED UPON IN OAU FRAMEWORK, AND AFRICANS RECOGNIZE IT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM. SYRIAN PROPOSAL ON SELF- DETERMINATION WAS TABLED LAST YEAR, AND, AS INDICATED SEPTEL, OTHER NON- ALIGNED REPS HAVE NOT RPT NOT SUPPORTED THIS EXTREMIST POSITION.

6. IT IS AGAINST FOREGOING TACTICAL BACKGROUND THAT DELEGATION, ALONG WITH DELS OF OTHER MEMBERS OF GROUP OF SIX, BELIEVES THERE IS CLEAR OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS HERE ON A BASIS FAVORABLE TO OUR OWN INTERESTS, IF WE CAN FIND WAYS OF REPHRASING OUR OWN POSITIONS IN MANNER WHICH APPEARS TO REFLECT NON- ALIGNED CONCERNS. WE CAN UNDER- STAND DEPARTMENT' S IMPRESSION, IN ABSENCE OF NEW CONCES- SIONS FROM NON- ALIGNED, THAT LATTER NOT SHOWING ANY EVIDENCE OF MOVING TOWARDS OUR POSITIONS. HOWEVER, IN LIGHT OF EXTREME DIFFICULTY NON- ALIGNED HAVE IN AGREEING ON ANY PROPOSALS FROM THEIR OWN SIDE, COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THEIR PART CAN BE REFLECTED ONLY IN READINESS OF LARGE MAJORITY OF NON- ALIGNED TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY ANY NEW FORMULATION WE ARE ABLE TO COME UP WITH, EVEN IF THESE NEW FORMULATIONS AMOUNT TO LITTLE MORE THAN RESTATEMENTS OF OUR ORIGINAL APPROACHES. THIS IS REASON FOR EFFORTS WITHIN GROUP OF SIX TO FIND NEW FORMULATIONS WHICH STILL COVER OUR
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BASIC OBJECTIVES.

7 FOR FOREGOING REASONS WE URGE DEPARTMENT TO CONSIDER ON THEIR MERITS THE POSSIBLE FORMULATIONS WE HAVE PRO- POSED AND WILL CONTINUE TO PROPOSE. IN MEANTIME DELEGA- TION IS, OF COURSE, CONTINUING TO USE GENERAL APPROACHES SET FORTH IN POSITION PAPER AS BASIS FOR EXPLORATIONS WITH OTHERS.

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